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THE ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

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DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, CHICAGO

FEBRUARY, 1930

VOL. XIV. No. 6

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The American Teacher

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FEBRUARY, 1930

Two Dollars a Year

The Public Schools and Our Responsibility to Them

By Henry R. Linville, President of Local No. 5, New York

To one who works in a large public education system, and at the same time keeps in touch with the progressive school movement, there is likely to come the thought that something is missing in the administration of public school education which is of fundamental importance. This something is the capacity to rejuvenate or to revive itself, to rebuild or to reorganize itself. There are other human institutions just like that, but the absence of this capacity in a school system is particularly unfortunate, because the conceivable purpose of the public school is to assist the race to rebuild itself as the continuing generations come upon the scene. In the absence of the power to rebuild, the great public school system has sunk to a static and ineffective condition.

Perhaps the very heart of the difficulty in the administration of public education is the prevailing absence of ideas and of a program for the rebuilding or the rejuvenating process. There may have been ideas and there may have been programs, but these ideas and programs lapse and are forgotten if the generalizations or the philosophy are without support, and especially if there is no social group available to feed its thought into them.

In the absence of a guiding and compelling philosophy which is understood first of all by the school administrators themselves, we find ourselves busy as machine operatives in a social institution which is not fundamentally and religiously concerned with education at all, but rather with certain by-products or non-essentials of the machine operations. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that we are not even intelligently concerned about the product of the machine—the children who pass through it.

As an aid to understanding what the writer believes is happening in public school systems in general in this country, he desires to call attention to some conditions which prevail in New York City. The existence of these conditions inevitably tends to prevent the emergence of ideas which might lead to the growth of a philosophy and a program without which the schools cannot become effective.

First of all, there is the aggregation of personalities and their kind which passes on to other personalities in a continuing line, the actual control of the machinery of the school system. In the City of New York this educational bureaucracy is practically identical in social and racial character with the bureaucracy of the entire municipal government. It is composed largely of first, second and third generation of Irish, first and second generation of Jews, with very small groups of Italians and Nordics. The Irish are in the majority. This condition may be due to lack of interest in the schools among indigenous groups, or to their interest in other fields which pay more.

The intellectual level of the members of this bureaucracy is not low by any means. Some individuals in it are distinctly above the average. The essential intellectual quality of the group is one of attitude rather than one of pure intelligence. This attitude may be better described by the term "loyal," than by any other. Indeed, at the time of the World War a charge of "disloyalty" preferred against a teacher did not necessarily mean that the teacher was primarily a traitor to the government of the United States. He might be more of a rebel against bureaucracy than anything else. The use that is made of the spirit of loyalty is to keep the school system

moving securely on its course without important change, and to maintain the control in the group that has possessed it all along.

It is a mistake to think that the bureaucratic group which controls the New York school system does not welcome intelligent and alert-minded recruits to its ranks. It needs such to help solve the many problems of administration which all the time confront those who have charge of the six hundred schools, the thirty-four thousand teachers and the one and one-quarter million children. But before the recruits are welcomed they must have passed the test of observation and trial for years during which time it is ascertained whether they are loyal and will not break loose and attempt to tear down the bulwarks of the "system."

It is natural that there should be many more attempts to break into this highly selective and economically favored bureaucracy than to break out from it on ventures that might have small hope of success anyway. The great incentive for breaking in is economic. In the various bureaus of the Department of Education in New York there are one hundred two jobs which bring yearly salaries of \$10,000 to \$25,000 or a total of over one million dollars. There are some liberal-minded politicians who argue that the big jobs in the education department are not worth making a fight about, and that it would be the part of wisdom for Tammany Hall to give up its hold on the schools, save itself unfavorable criticism, and depend on its other rackets. But no, the ten thousand dollar jobs are more numerous in the education department than in any other. Why should they give them up? They could find no better racket anywhere.

So Tammany will carry on, and the good jobs will be protected for the faithful, if possible by preventing the proposed merit bill from passing and also by using wisdom in making a fair distribution of the spoils, giving a job now and then to the Jews and even some to the Protestants. But all who receive this benefit must be judged to be eligible to membership in the politico-religio-educational caste which maintains the control of the school system.

The first concern of this caste is of course to maintain itself. It cares a great deal about

the schools, and it is an easy matter to show that only those persons who are trustworthy and are loyal to the school system should be trusted with one of the better paid positions. Thus, it is difficult, if not impossible, for teachers to be promoted to these positions who have only the equipment and backing of intelligence and ideas. In fact, the greatest risk of all would be to promote such a person, because he might tear down some of the bulwarks of the system.

This attitude of antagonism toward potential rebels in high educational positions is reflected also in the official attitude toward educational experiments. Inevitably experiments are promoted by persons who in general are unadaptable where the caste system prevails. They are potentially destructive of the *status quo* in so many ways that an isolating fence has to be thrown around them if they are allowed in at all.

There are concessions made, however, from time to time to opinions and researches and the pressure of organization. This is shown in occasional announcements of revisions in the course of study, in announcements of intention to select candidates for the higher positions on the basis of merit alone, in giving up evident intention to introduce military training in high schools, and in many other ways. But these concessions actually give up nothing. The same old compulsions and reactionary attitudes are maintained with only the veneer of superficial change.

I have intimated that an important cause of the opposition to any substantial modification of the *status quo* in public education is the fear of the breaking up of the existing control of the system and of the caste system which exercises that control. This fear is obviously of economic origin.

The situation resulting from the caste system control of public education has become so familiar to teachers that they are inclined to accept it as normal or inevitable—so easy is it for supposedly intelligent persons to be separated from their ideals. Thus, as the result of a widespread submissive adaptation to environment on the part of teachers the continuance of the caste system of control in public

education would seem to be assured. To the writer there appears to be only one way to break the caste system of control and to initiate the process of creating a new body of ideals on which a program for rejuvenating public education can be founded.

The writer views the American Federation of Teachers as the agency through which the way may be found. But it must be confessed that we who constitute the personnel of this movement for educational reconstruction have not yet won more than inconsiderable success in persuading American teachers to join with us. This of itself is not a valid cause for discouragement. Every progressive movement is obliged to meet the solid walls of resistance or indifference. And every progressive movement finds its normal objectives postponed or thrown into shadow by various "safe and sane" organizations. The particular *polyanna* in the field of public education is the National Education Association. It is not the purpose of the writer to attack this Goliath of educational organizations, chiefly because such an enterprise would draw us away from the needed development of our thought. But we do need to realize that the social effect of the National Education Association is to postpone

the era of reconstruction. In every sense of the term it is a company union. Even if it does not know it, it blocks the way for the emergence of the fundamental ideas concerning which this article deals.

In the American Federation of Teachers we believe that teachers should regard themselves, their work and their thinking as the basic factors in the new educational order. We are presumably agreed on that. We hold our conventions, and there draft our *magna carta* and lay down our program. But are we sufficiently functional? Have we shown the American people by example in action in our national and local fields just how we propose to strive for the new order? If we have not, or if what we have done has not been effective, then we have something to answer for to our own understanding of the purpose of the movement, and especially to the great systems of public education in this country where the souls of children are being seared and pressed into conformity by the caste system of control.

It is the purpose of the present article to call attention to the situation and to formulate the problem. In a later article some lines of activity will be suggested for consideration by the movement.

Social Adjustment Through Education

Address of Mr. Andrew Blackwood, Past President of the Educational Institute of Scotland, Delivered by His Son, Mr. Harry Blackwood, at Geneva at the Meeting of W. F. E. A.

Social Adjustment through Education is such a wide field that I cannot hope to cover all the points or even several of them. I shall therefore confine myself to one point only, viz., the position of the teacher, as the main factor in the problem. Where does the teacher stand, and where should he stand? One class of educational politicians assume that he does not stand at all—that he merely exists as a machine that can have no individuality, while one class among ourselves, at the other extreme, hold that the whole management of education should be done by the teacher and by him alone. There is a wide stretch between these extremes, into which we all fit somewhere or other, and the problem is, how far

towards either end of the scale should we be placed, and how can we improve our position in that placing.

At a former conference I was astonished at the number of representatives, from a nation I had been led to believe was the freest in the world, who expressed to me their pleasure and astonishment at the freedom with which my countrymen expressed their views. If you will pardon my becoming historical, I shall give a short account of the rise of the Educational Institute of Scotland, as it is probably the oldest professional organization extant. It was formed eighty years ago "to further the cause of education," but right through its existence, it has never

forgotten on the one hand, that education cannot be "furthered" if the cause of the educators be not furthered along with it, nor on the other hand, that, if the latter point be alone attended to, full educational effect cannot be got.

There can be no doubt that the great changes that have come over Scottish Education, including better buildings, extended school age, increased Secondary Education, and improvement of the status and increase of the emoluments of the teacher have all been brought about by the action of the Institute.

But this has not been done in a day: it has been a genuine case of evolution and slow evolution even. By just hinting, in the far past, that our voice should be heard, we went on, step by step, from hinting to requesting and from requesting ultimately to demanding.

Let us take a look at one or two only of its main activities today.

A. Parliamentary Action: Very early in our work we learned the gentle art of "lobbying," and whenever there has been any educational legislation coming, we have had our members in London interviewing the members of Parliament and showing the position from our point of view, and more than once, almost at the last moment even, we have been able to change or modify. Six months ago there was a great legislative change in the management of our schools, and we were there in force; this month even there has been another proposed change, and to quote a phrase from 1793 one Parliamentary Committee has been "in permanent session" in London.

For some years we have had a Member of Parliament of our own in the House and instead of being looked at askance as a mere representative of the teachers, he is always listened to with respect as an acknowledged exponent of Education.

To come to a slightly lower level, we are not above throwing in our weight for or against a candidate at election times, but never on party lines as we have always considered that the parliamentary power of the Institute must be purely non-party and in this we have been justified by the number of friends of all parties we have in the House.

B. Educational changes of a minor nature are

in the hands of a permanent official: When he proposes making any modification, he intimates it to us and is always ready to receive our views either in the form of a written memorial or in a personal interview.

C. Management of schools: Scotland is divided into Counties, and each County has an Education Authority for the management of the schools in the County. One Institute is likewise divided into County branches, and I may say that the relationship between one of our branches and the County Authority is pretty similar to that between our main body and Parliament.

D. Training of Teachers: Scotland is divided into four provinces for this purpose and there is a "Provincial Committee" of management. Long ago we had no voice in this; later, by our insistence, teachers were co-opted to the Committees; this only satisfied us for the moment and after a few years we got a change by which teachers were admitted to each Committee in full membership. These were not mere supernumeraries; I had the pleasure of being a member for eight years and I can assure you I was not a "homologater."

E. Legal: I could go on enumerating our activities, almost ad infinitum: I shall refrain from doing so but must mention one other—our legal activities. We have a committee purely to look after this, and it retains a prominent lawyer. We have had many law cases to conserve the interests of teachers, nearly always successful, and we have saved many more from coming into court by merely threatening to act.

Now how is all this good work brought about? By standing shoulder to shoulder. By constantly impressing on non-members (these are still about five per cent) what the Institute has done in trebling the salaries, and in getting ample retiring allowances, etc. The moral to be drawn from our success is that if you come from a country where there is no organization, create one, and if you come from a country where there is one, homologate and strengthen it, not being dismayed by one or two failures, but holding doggedly on till you ultimately succeed. In this way will you create a self-respecting body of teachers, as well as one that is respected outside, and it is only from such teachers that we can hope for any

measure of success in tackling the question of Social Adjustments.

I wish to leave the main arguments to the speakers that follow me or I would wander into the subjects of Parents' Committees, school visits, school excursions, etc.

Let me, however, give a warning on one point, viz., what we would vulgarly call "freak" educationalists. Any scheme of social adjustments will bring in a host of people who assume the world is to be regenerated in one way only—their way, and they will demand that their subjects be added to the curriculum and even demand admittance to the schools to teach the teachers how to do it. That is one thing we stubborn Scotsmen would not have—the admission of non-professionals to do teaching, and we are strong enough to resist it.

I have spoken from one point of view only, and that more or less a side one. I shall now be silent to let you get on to the main issue.

CLEAR SIGNS OF DEVELOPING LABOR POWER IN DENMARK

Roskilde, Denmark.—One of the most interesting forward steps in the Danish workers' education movement was taken recently when the Workers' Education Union of Denmark, which is the joint educational center of the Labor party, the trade unions and the cooperative societies, purchased for 125,000 kronen, the Peoples' High School at Roskilde.

This high school, which has been one of the notable schools in the folk high school movement of Denmark, has enjoyed a continuous existence for over a quarter of a century under the leadership of some of the outstanding educational leaders of Denmark. Its transformation into a residential labor college is an indication not only of the growth of industrialism in Denmark, but also of the developing power of labor.

The action taken by the Workers' Education Union of Denmark follows the decision to increase the physical equipment of the Labor College at Esbjerg and provides for an enrollment double the present size. Paul Hanson has been appointed warden of the Esbjerg Labor College. The warden of the Roskilde Labor College has not been selected. The school will be taken over formally by the Workers' Education Union on April 1, 1930.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

11. What are the essentials to a profession?

Adequate compensation for services rendered. Tenure during efficiency. Participation in determining the standards that control teaching and teachers. Just as medicine and law were made professions chiefly because their own members fixed the standards of their callings, the standards of the teaching profession must be determined by ideals that find favor not merely in the eyes of those who control these positions, but in the eyes of those who do the actual work.

12. What prominent "professionals" are members of the American Federation of Labor?

John Dewey, professor of philosophy, Columbia University; Dr. Franklin Meyer, U. S. Bureau of Standards; Ethel Barrymore, Vice-President, Actors Equity; Harry A. Overstreet, professor of philosophy, College of the City of New York; Frank Gilmore, President, Actors Equity; Ethelbert Stewart, U. S. Bureau of Statistics; Robert Morss Lovett, editor, *The New Republic*; Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics, University of Chicago; Edward F. Keating, editor, *Labor*; John Herman Randall, author and professor at Columbia University; John A. Brewer, professor of education, Harvard University; and hundreds of others.

13. What Has Dr. John Dewey Said About Teachers Affiliating with Labor?

"Why is it that teachers who have not had to live by the labor of their hands, nor suffered the privations and difficulties of many of the members of the trade unions have found it necessary in time of need and extremity to turn for active support, not to manufacturers' associations, nor to bankers' associations and lawyers' associations, and the so-called respectable elements of the community, but have had to turn to these bodies of organized labor? I think that it is cause for shame and humiliation on the part of the so-called respectable classes; but, I think on the other hand it is a source of pride and self-respect for the members of these labor unions and is a reason why every teacher should feel proud to be affiliated with labor unions."

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I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives. I like to see a man who lives in it so that his place will be proud of him. Be honest, but hate no one; overturn a man's wrongdoing, but do not overturn him unless it must be done in overturning the wrong. Stand with a man while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong.

—Abraham Lincoln.

Teachers' Strikes

The American Federation of Teachers has a non-strike policy, based on the following beliefs:

1. That the teacher is the greatest conservator of the public interest.

2. That the teachers' grievances must not, and cannot, be remedied by any method that inflicts injury upon the children upon whom the future of the nation rests.

Groups of teachers who have found their situation intolerable have struck, but no local of the American Federation of Teachers has ever used the strike. Far from being a strike producer, organization of teachers with the American Federation of Labor is the great strike preventive. Teachers believe in sane, conservative leadership. Through organization the policy of the organized teaching body is guided by the most enlightened members. Besides, teachers' grievances are usually listened to with respect when presented through a union, and can be conveniently and justly settled in frank conferences between representatives of the school authorities and officers of the teachers' unions.

The unorganized workers have no recourse but to strike. It is the only way they can express their opinions and get an audience.

This is a costly method, but it is their only method to express their resentment against injustice.

The organized teachers depend for results upon the power of organized numbers, upon the support of organized labor, upon political action, and upon an aroused and educated public opinion. Therefore, teachers' unions have no need to strike. They know a better way.

What Does Labor Expect from the Teachers?

What does Labor expect from the teachers in return for its admittedly powerful support?

For one thing, labor believes, rightly or wrongly, that the trained intelligence of the teachers should be able to make a contribution to the solving of vexed social and economic, as well as educational problems. They can bring to the labor struggle intellectual balance and penetration. They can help to give to those struggles a direction that is unflinching social. The teachers have the heavy responsibility of showing that the vaunted value of their education is not over-

rated, when faced with the living problems of this difficult period. The President of the American Association of University Professors has said: "It would be little short of a calamity if labor's policy toward the schools should receive no help or guidance from within the schools." For the first time the teachers have the opportunity not merely to teach history, more or less ancient, and indirectly to influence future history, but actively to assist in the making of current history.

But the chief return that organized labor expects is a square educational deal for the children of all the people. They are making no class request, they ask nothing for their own children that they do not demand with equal force for all children. They know that children are not afforded a square deal and equal educational opportunities now. Two of the causes they can readily see even as laymen—underpaid teachers, and overcrowded classes. But they are not trained to diagnose the ills of a school system. And they want the teachers to affiliate, primarily, so that through delegates of the teachers, local central labor bodies and state and national labor conventions can be informed of conditions at first hand by classroom teachers on the educational firing line. They wish to have teachers, with their specialized training and knowledge, and organized labor with its influence in the community and the nation, working shoulder to shoulder and thus develop a more efficient system of public schools from the kindergarten through the university.

Workers Should Awaken to New Industrial Revolution

The significance of pleas by the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Farm Board and State agricultural colleges for farmers to reduce output may well be noted by trade unionists.

Chairman Legge of the Farm Board states that agriculture is the only industry that has not been "stabilized."

Industry no longer attempts to conceal its policy of "stabilization." It is, in fact, considered "good business" to limit output to demand.

Abandonment of unchecked production is linked with automatic machinery and scientific processes that invade every field. No industry or calling is immune from the silent revolution-

ary forces that swell the ranks of unemployed.

Skill acquired after long years is useless; semi-skill is not necessary and the 40-year-old mechanic is replaced by nimble fingers and a mind that can be trained in a few hours, days or weeks.

Mergers and combinations have the same effect on so-called "white collar" workers.

Far-sighted business men are alert to the new system, yet in its infancy, and are suggesting that the people's purchasing power be increased. A few business men frankly declare that the present low-wage system must be changed if disaster is to be averted.

Organized labor, for years, has claimed that high wages is the one guarantee of continued prosperity. Only now is this being accepted—as a theory.

Instances are rare where wages are voluntarily raised. Higher wages are resisted as stoutly as when employers insisted that low wages lessened production costs and when communities advertised their "low-wage, contented labor."

Workers can only raise wages by uniting. They can only shorten hours by the same policy. The present work day must be reduced. There is not a basic industry that dare operate 100 per cent now or at any time since the end of the World War.

Workers should not be lulled by unsupported optimism or by chloroforming economists who assure them that this machine era will cause but temporary inconvenience.

These economists are invariably wrong. History shows they erred whenever they challenged organized labor on a question of fundamentals.

The present industrial revolution is without parallel.

Never before has government aided business in limiting—"stabilizing"—output. Never before were farmers, dairy producers, cotton growers and horticulturists publicly called upon to reduce output.

Men who refuse to see are blind to the new revolution. Opiates and helpless hope will not affect its onward sweep.

The trade unions alone will create a new social concept that can cope with the new revolution.

Let organized workers present these facts to non-unionists. The unions were born out of grim necessity. Never before was their need so urgent.

The Chicago Crisis

A receivership, under which bankers will dictate every expenditure by governing bodies, and elected representatives of the people will merely

carry out the orders of financial overlords, is being proposed for Chicago. The receivers will be a group of lawyers and big business men who are not at all friendly to organized labor, who have never shown any interest in the schools except for exploitation, advertising and propaganda, and who are tied up with the utility interests, which for years have financed and controlled the corrupt political machines that have helped bankrupt the community.

An Old Melodrama Re-enacted

Drawn for LABOR by John M. Baer



A "taxpayers' pool", which of course means a combination of the super-rich, by this proposition will advance the city and county something like \$20,000,000, and receive, in return, absolute authority to control all expenditures.

The \$20,000,000 which these "taxpayers" propose to advance is less than 10 per cent of the sums appropriated for city, county and schools for the current year. Philanthropy or sharp practice?

Many people in and out of Chicago think that this crisis is the result of corrupt local government, but they should realize that the crash was caused, or at least precipitated, by something entirely apart from this corruption.

Chicago gets 75 per cent of its revenues from land taxes, and everyone agrees that real estate assessments have been viciously unfair. The State Tax Commission ordered a reassessment of all real estate in Cook county. Until it is finished, real estate taxes cannot be col-

lected. That is what has brought the present crash. With three-quarters of its income suddenly held up for an indefinite period, any institution would be in trouble.

This work began in December, 1928, and is still unfinished.

Tentative figures of the reassessment show some appalling facts.

Real estate in Chicago has been lowered in assessed value more than \$400,000,000.

Real estate in the county outside Chicago has been increased in assessed value more than \$300,000,000.

These figures indicate that taxes are being lifted from income paying, business real estate, and piled on homes. This method of tax "reform" has been remorselessly carried out in Chicago.

Assessments in the Loop, the heart of the business district, have been cut \$119,000,000, according to the lowest estimates; more than \$300,000,000 according to others. A safe average would be a cut of not less than \$200,000,000. All this property is owned by super-wealthy banks, individuals and corporations, with the utilities showing high in the list.

Prosperity

A release which has come to our desk states that "an index of current American prosperity may be found in the excellent enrollment conditions existing in a large and representative number of educational institutions, according to the twelfth annual private school report." College preparatory institutions show an increased enrollment in a large number of schools, capacity enrollment, "with considerably more money to be spent for tuition this year than last."

The report states also, "Divided according to types, military schools lead in reporting more favorable conditions this year" and "This year 130 schools increased their rates."

These statistics regarding increased attendance in private schools and increased tuition in these schools are doubtless to be accepted without question. But the deduction that they are "an index of current American prosperity" seems to us utterly fallacious. They will indicate that the over four hundred million-dollar-income parents are sending their children to these private schools, that the num-

ber of parents able to send their children to such schools has increased, but when the ratio of private schools to public schools, the financial stringency of a great number of school districts, the low salary of teachers and the failure to increase teachers' salaries are considered, the conclusion of American prosperity appears to be based on a triviality.

When further we consider the over 6,000,000 unemployed and the financial crises through which we are and have been passing, we wonder what "107,208 students enrolled in 470 schools paying \$71,169,024 in tuition" has to do with "current American prosperity."

POLITICS IN THE SCHOOLS

The aggressive move upon politics in the schools by the New York Teachers Union, Local 5, has attracted wide notice in the press, both news account and editorial comment. The New York Times regarded this position of the Union of sufficient importance to carry it in electric light display on their building in Times Square.

The following editorial comment appeared in the New York Times of December 24, 1929, under the heading:

"Politics in the Schools"

The Teachers Union has rated as the "major problem" in the New York school system "the elimination of political and attendant religious influences." It again notifies the public of the "disgraceful practice by which political qualifications come to be preferred over other qualifications which alone relate to the work of the schools and the welfare of the teachers and the children." It does not undertake to prove that such a practice exists; it refers to it as a continuing fact which it continues to condemn.

An experience of the Board of Education of Newark is cited. In the recent selection of a high school principal the aid of a committee of educational experts living outside that city was invoked in listing the educational and administrative fitness of those who applied under the eligibility requirements. Warning was given that any candidate who attempted to influence the choice by political means would be promptly dropped. It is doubtful if such a plan would be practicable here. The Board of Superintendents should be as disinterested as outside experts and would have certain advantages in being familiar with local conditions. But how are they to be protected against such influence as that from which an outside committee is free? Even if the list of supporters of each candidate were made public, as was done by President Hoover in the selection of Fed-

eral judges, "influence" is not confined to written channels.

Correction of this evil, which is a menace to the integrity of the whole system, must come largely from inside the teaching body. The Teachers Union has shown courage in its effort to stir the interest of the 30,000 teachers in the maintenance of professional standards. It has canvassed the teachers themselves concerning the qualifications of the thirty-five who have been selected by the Board of Superintendents for the position of principal. That its evaluations differ from those of the board does not, of course, prove that the board's are not just, but it does raise a suspicion that something else than purely educational factors has entered to disturb the professional ratings. One must suspend judgment till Superintendent O'Shea makes answer; but the showing presented by the Teachers Union report is, to say the least, disquieting.

CUSTOMS CENSORSHIP STILL TO BE FOUGHT

Reprints of the Senate debate on the censorship clause in the new tariff act, brilliantly opposed by Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico, have just been sent throughout the country by the American Civil Liberties Union in its campaign to hold the partial victory won in the Senate, and to amend the bill further by placing the burden of proof upon the government and by replacing decisions of customs officials by the regular courts.

In a preface to the abstract of the Senate debate, the Civil Liberties Union says:

"Our position is that all censorship of literature by customs officials should be abolished. If customs officials find what they regard as really pornographic literature or other matter they think violates the law, they should take it to the prosecuting officials of the state. Then the determination of its lawfulness would rest with a judge and jury, where it belongs, and the burden of proof would be on the government, as it is in all criminal cases. We hold there is no need whatever of extending the present customs censorship of 'obscenity' to 'seditious' foreign literature—although, unfortunately, Senator Cutting had to concede a point or two on this to get his amendment adopted."

Together with this abstract of the debate, the Civil Liberties Union has sent a letter emphasizing the importance of supporting Senator Cutting in his stand and of getting support for his amendment by senators and representatives. The amendment still has to run the gauntlet of the conference committee of House and Senate. The amendment removes the prohibition against the importation of "obscene" books and narrows the proposed new censorship of "seditious" matter to those works which "advocate urging forcible resistance to any law of the United States or containing any threat to take the life of or inflict bodily harm to any person in the United States."

THE POWER TRUST

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Hearings before the Federal Trade Commission on the astounding profits, stock-watering and other financial jugglery of the power trust are about to furnish the country a new series of sensations. For nearly a year past the accountants and other experts for the Commission have been looking into such books of the power combine as were not withheld from their inspection, either through downright defiance or through sleight-of-hand. The fundamental question—How much am I being robbed by the power company?—is about to be answered for scores of millions of Americans.

As a prelude to this phase of the probe of the power monopoly, members of the Senate committee on interstate commerce are reading the file of memoranda and letters secured, under duress, from the offices of the Federal Power Commission, showing how Executive Secretary Bonner of that commission has been trying to get rid of the legal and accounting divisions of the Power Commission staff, thereby covering up stock-watering schemes of the power corporations to whom valuable federal power sites are being granted. A battle that has been staged behind the locked doors of a subcommittee of the House appropriations committee is to be brought into the open before the Senate committee on interstate commerce, and perhaps also before the Caraway committee on lobby investigation. For there exists documentary evidence that the power trust lobby in Washington is highly expensive.

There is only one cure for evils which newly-acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half-blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason, and the extreme violence of opinions subsides. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.—*Macaulay*.

What has destroyed the liberty and the rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all cares and powers into one body.—*Thomas Jefferson*.

Experimental Russia

By Dorothy Gary and John Markey

Members of the American Federation of Teachers, which has long stood for progressive experimentation in education, will be interested in some of the educational developments in modern Russia.

As the Russians have been reorganizing the fundamental basis of their social order, this fact alone has necessitated an enormous amount of experimental work in new forms of educational and social enterprise. In addition to this the active policy has been one of encouragement of the scientific and experimental attitude toward economic and social problems.

There are limits placed upon experimentation as well, just as in all experimental effort, and these may be briefly indicated. Since Russia is organizing a society for the benefit of workers (including all types, such as industrial, agricultural, professional and technical), with its future objective the creation of a communistic social order, and since this program is based upon cooperative ownership of all productive enterprise, experimentation goes on under this stricture:—the discouragement and even prohibition of some phases of experimentation along capitalistic and individualistic lines and the encouragement of experimentation along socialistic cooperative lines. Regardless of one's political views concerning the kind of society being developed, Russia undoubtedly furnishes a most remarkable laboratory for the educator, scientist and student of society. It is our present purpose to glance into a few parts of this laboratory in order to get a beginning insight into the social experimentation going on there.

The Gosplan

Not only are the educational efforts seeking for new and more adequate ways in which to express these principles of social activity, but every phase of Russian life presents a like picture. In industry new methods, techniques and organizations are being tried. One of their latest efforts is the Gosplan, a central government bureau of experts with smaller Gosplans scattered over the union, whose task it is to collect and analyze all facts relevant to Russian economic life for the whole Republic, in every branch of industry and agriculture, such as statistics of pro-

duction, profits, losses, wage, past and future needs of the people, exports and imports, etc. On the basis of these facts they budget Russian economic developments one, five and fifteen years ahead. Stuart Chase has discussed the history of this huge experiment in the recent report of experts in "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade." He concludes that in spite of many difficulties besetting such a task, the Gosplan has been able to achieve a notable degree of accuracy in prediction and manipulation of economic development.

The Institute of Labor

A smaller example in industrial experimentation is seen in the Institutes of Labor. At the Institute which we visited in Moscow, one of a number of similar institutes in different places, they were experimenting on efficient and unique methods of performing tasks in textile, metal, carpentry and other trades based upon a detailed analysis of the labor processes involved. This was from the standpoint of the worker's comfort, well-being and reduced fatigue as well as efficiency of production. The worker's relation to the whole industry is a part of his training, his tasks representing industry in miniature. Blood and other fatigue tests were being made in order to discover how fatigue occurs and how it can be eliminated. Short preliminary exercises in preparation for work were being tried out. Relaxing, resting and ending exercises were being perfected in order that the worker might begin, perform, and end his work in a fit, healthful manner. The Institute of Labor is supported by the unions, various industries and other bodies, and the results of their findings are being put into practice.

According to the 1928 report of Narkompros, Peoples Commissariat of Education, there are now 80 scientific and research institutes of different kinds representing an increase of 344% over czarist Russia. This gives some indication of the increase of this type of work.

A Labor Commune

In the field of criminal procedure they are experimenting with self-governing labor communes to which the persons convicted of crime may come. On our visit to such a commune we found

no guards or high spiked fences. All persons come voluntarily and may leave at any time without being pursued. A remarkable fact, to us not to them, was that very few leave. The group forms its own regulations, helps organize its own industries, etc. Above all, the members of the commune treated themselves as persons and there was no atmosphere of degradation, as seen in similar groups in other countries.

Cultural Life

Experimentation in and development of the worker's and peasant's social life receives an amount of attention most striking. The Unions with a membership of 10 million together with the Cooperatives with 20 million or more are carrying on an enormous amount of activity including experimental work in methods of cultural development of their membership. Community cultural centers in the villages and in the factories, study circles, wall newspapers, Red corners, and libraries are some of the methods used. Instead of huge country clubs there are huge workers' clubs. We visited several of these. The members pay a very small fee, since the unions maintain these clubs largely out of their cultural funds. The larger clubs have such facilities as track, tennis, basketball and numerous other sports, swimming, sun-bathing, in-door and out-door theaters, restaurants, libraries and the like. In addition there are many excursion trips, and educational and social programs provided by the unions.

New techniques and content in art and the theater are probably much better known here than many other lines of development. Much less known but very interesting is their experimentation in group games and contests as methods of developing group morale and physical vigor.

Education and Liquidating Illiteracy

The program for the liquidation of illiteracy is a Herculean task in new methods of educational practice. The immensity of this task is more readily realized when the extent of illiteracy before the revolution is considered. Even in large centers, such as Moscow and Petrograd, illiteracy was 50 to 60%; in the Baltic provinces it reached its lowest being around 25%, but in Siberia and the Caucasus it ran as high as 77 and 87%. Some outlying sections were almost

totally illiterate. In 1920 nearly 55 million above 8 years of age were illiterate. Between 1921-27 5½ million were made literate, illiteracy being reduced at the rate of over a million a year. There are many agencies utilized in achieving these results, such as unions, cooperatives, "Down with Illiteracy" clubs, schools, libraries, museums, etc. The Red Army, something unique in military history in that it is a vast cultural undertaking, is also being utilized by Narkompros as an important means of liquidating illiteracy.

By 1932 the plan is to have literate at least all of the population between early school age and thirty-five.

Space does not permit a discussion of the other new methods being used in adult education, or of such intensely interesting work as that among the minority groups in Russia. New alphabets and systems of writing have been made for some of these groups who had none before, and many schemes are being tried to further their intellectual development and political understanding.

Nor does space allow of more than a brief reference here to the vast experimental work being conducted by Narkompros within the Soviet Union's new public educational system itself. We plan to deal further with this aspect in another article.¹

"Cheery Life"

Perhaps a description of some of the work which we saw in one of the peasant children's colonies will illustrate the nature of the experimental work which is going on within the new public system.

Stanislaus Shostky, one of Russia's pedagogical leaders, a man imprisoned by the Czar for his educational pioneering, gave Dewey and his group with which we were associated at the time, a personal invitation to visit this colony.

"Cheery Life" as the colony is called, is composed of an elementary school community and a secondary school community. It is recognized as one of the best experimental schools for work among the peasant population. Results of the

1. Readers are also referred to the Dewey articles, recently appearing in the *New Republic* on Russian Education, to chapters on education in "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade" edited by Chase, Dunn and Tugwell, also to Nearing's "Education in Soviet Russia" and Lucy Wilson's "New Schools in New Russia."

work here are made available through exhibits, institutes, and literature to rural teachers throughout the Russian Republic. This of course is but one of various educational experiment stations throughout the Soviet Union for rural as well as urban areas.

This is a brief description of some of the experimental work being carried on by groups of children. The chairman of the student's committee on agriculture led us to the vegetable garden where small plots were laid out and girls and boys from 9 to 12 years of age were carrying on experiments in scientific agriculture. One after another explained to us the problem on which he or she was working, what methods had been used, what results had been obtained and their future plans of work.

The first lad had been experimenting with the humble white potato, one of the staples of peasant diet. In the first plot he showed us a small runt of a plant, grown as the peasant often grows it. Right next to it he had a far larger, healthier plant, grown under more scientific conditions. Others had been carrying on similar experiments with the tomato, squash, bean, etc. Soil temperature, moisture, time of planting, and the like, had been varied separately and together in each case and results noted. Other children were working with flowers and still others with cattle and horses.

In every case there stood the results side by side, those gained by peasants when using primitive agricultural methods and those achieved from experimentation and utilization of scientific technique. Peasants of neighboring villages had been invited in to see these results and so the community and school life were woven together and the children's work given a powerful motivation.

A boy of fifteen, who had had charge of organizing a strawberry exhibit still on display, explained to us its meaning. Neat piles of strawberries classified as to type were placed on tables around the room. A chart hung over each table explaining the type and the conditions under which it could be most profitably grown. Peasants to whom strawberries were almost an unknown luxury before the revolution were now being introduced into the secrets of strawberry culture by their children.

As this was a colony of peasant children, having as one of its aims serving the life of an

agricultural region, the main emphasis was naturally laid on agricultural work. But dramatic, artistic and other cultural projects are numerous and experimenting in these is along similar lines. One significant feature of the work here and one which proved to be characteristic of all Russian educational work which we saw, was the close integration of so-called cultural subjects with the every-day life of the pupils and the community, the standard being to make all work "socially useful" in a broad sense. All school programs are grouped around three major subject-matters, the world of nature, the world of labor and the world of human relations. The "complex system" of study, somewhat similar to the project method but broader in social orientation and more thorough-going in character, is used. Further, fundamental to all educational activity is the emphasis placed upon the collective principle, which, to quote Krupskaya, one of Russia's leading educators, "is both the point of departure and the final aim of every educational process. This principle runs through it like a red thread. . . . It is its base, its essence, its content." The collective principle within the school means primarily the organization of voluntary cooperative activities of the children, for work, for play and for participation in community life. Teachers and leaders are expected to advise and participate but not to dominate. It means the interweaving and integration of the school processes with the rest of social life. Of such significance is this regarded by Dewey that he says in the *New Republic*, "The Russian educational situation is enough to convert one to the idea that only in a society based upon the cooperative principle can the ideals of educational reformers be adequately carried into operation."

Education Workers

We also saw something of the collective life of the teachers. The Education Workers Union, which includes over 98% of all of Russia's 800,000 educational workers, not only promotes the economic and cultural well-being of its membership, but actively participates through its representatives in school curriculum and administration affairs, both locally and nationally. Further, the teachers and the union are expected to take an active part in community and civic matters. Both in our talks with the teachers at Cheery

Life, and in our trips with them to some of the villages in the surrounding country, where we discussed local affairs with the peasant inhabitants we learned at first hand something of what this local union of teachers had been contributing toward the life of this region. Also we observed the comradely relations existing between pupils and leaders. All of these served to explain to us the enthusiasm and keenmindedness of the teachers and the self-reliant alertness in students which we found, as well as the marked vitality which we sensed in the school community itself.

While Cheery Life should be said to be above the average in the quality of its leadership, it is situated in a typical area of central Russia and the educational life which we found here was similar in outlook and vigor to that of all other schools and educational ventures visited.

In fact one can clearly feel and see in the general population a confidence and freedom, not of a blustering, but of a buoyant, balanced type. This is undoubtedly an important factor in much of the experimenting already accomplished. And while many problems remain to be worked out, instead of being surprised at this, it may be said in regard to other aspects of Russian Life, as Dewey does concerning the educational system, that, considering the difficulties such as famine, war, lack of equipment and other handicaps, one is rather amazed at the progress already made.

Miss Perkins of the State Labor Department officially states that in rich New York thousands of girls in the telephone company, chain stores, etc., earn from \$12-15 a week while the cost of food and shelter alone for girls who do not live at home averages \$14.69 for the most economical! Of course industries paying less than enough to feed and shelter their workers are parasites.

Miss Helen L. Bass of Cranford, N. J., has been awarded the prize of \$25 offered by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union for the best temperance poster in the contest first opened to school art teachers in 1928-29. The offer is renewed for the year 1929-30. Details concerning the contest may be obtained from the National Director, Miss Cora Frances Stoddard, 400 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

A CALIFORNIA PIONEER GONE

California and the American Federation of Teachers has lost a leader and a worker, in the death of Miss Olive Wilson of Vallejo. She was the outstanding pioneer of the State in Federation work. It was largely due to her inspiration that Local No. 26 was established in 1918, the first in the West. This enthusiasm was characteristic of Miss Wilson. She had continually to combat the spirit of indifference from below and of hostility from above, but she struggled resolutely on, holding her organization together largely through her own indomitable will and firm belief. Not satisfied with the organization of the teachers she made a great effort to form an administrator's local in 1920. She was continually handicapped by having to work in a small community where the rapid turn-over of teachers made the development of an esprit-de-corps impossible.

Miss Wilson's enthusiasm for the Federation was the natural outcome of her professional spirit. As long as teaching can claim representatives with her spirit, energy and ideals, it can lay claim to the title of Profession. Miss Wilson began teaching in 1880. Aside from two or three years taken to attend college, she has taught continuously ever since. But continuous teaching was, with her, never a synonym for standing still or getting into a rut. Every few years she went back to Summer School. Even last summer she took a course at Miss Swopes' Normal, a school specializing in primary work. Since 1900 Miss Wilson has taught in Vallejo. During much of the period she has been principal of the Roosevelt Elementary school.

It has been my privilege to work with Miss Wilson in the State Federation during the last ten years. During this period she has constantly been a vice-president except that from 1925-1926 she was State President. She was delegate at large from the State in the National Convention in 1924 and in 1926. She will be remembered by the members for her straight-forward support of those policies that she favored, but for the cheerful acceptance of the result when it proved to be adverse.

These were the characteristics which made her beloved and admired by all who worked

with her. Entire unselfishness in her objectives, vision in her plans, courage in their prosecution, and an optimism and cheerfulness that carried her through discouragement and reverse. She is gone but her work will not be soon forgotten. California is the better for her life and her memory will be an inspiration to all of us who came in contact with her.

—R. W. EVERETT.

TEACHERS SQUIRM UNDER SPEEDUP SYSTEM

By Harold Z. Brown

Federated Press

Speedup—The Nemesis of unorganized labor in factory, mill and mine—has knocked professional boundary lines into a cocked hat and established itself as the biggest problem in life for many thousands of teachers in U. S. grade and high schools.

That is the burden of recent statements by responsible officers of the American Federation of Teachers, an A. F. of L. international. The fact that many of the teachers affected are college trained, while nearly all of them think themselves salaried professional men and women rather than wage workers, does not seem to make the situation less acute. The bleak truth is that American teachers are being given a dose of the same stretchout that has provoked even Southern textile workers—probably the worst paid, lowest living group in U. S. industry—to revolt.

A lengthened working day, steady increases in the size of classes and the number of classes each teacher must handle, and a growing number of extra-curricular chores assigned to overworked pedagogues, are the way it is done, according to Pres. Henry R. Linville of New York Teachers' Union, Local 5 of the A. F. T.

"When the high schools were established," says the Union Teacher, monthly organ of the N. Y. local, "teachers taught 5 hours daily, arriving at about 8:40 a. m. and quitting at 1:30 p. m. Later the time was increased to 2 o'clock, then to 2:30 then to 2:45, and now to 3 p. m. or even later."

Altogether the teacher's classroom day has been stretched 20 per cent by this process, the Union Teacher asserts. But not all of a teacher's work is done in the classroom. Every lengthening of the classroom day multiplies itself in additional clerical work, reports, examinations, and preparation of classroom material which must be done by every teacher.

These tasks stretched the teacher's working day to eight full hours even when the classroom day was five hours, says Pres. Linville. Nowadays, he adds, "work every night in the week is typical of high school teachers." The speedup tendency—apparent on a national scale—is actually cutting teachers' wage rates by forcing them to do more and more work for the same money, he summed up. And now school board politicians, intent on saving a larger proportion of tax money for the pork barrel, are showing a lively interest in all-year-round schools, which if established would keep both teachers and pupils at the grind all year long.

Another aspect of speeding up teachers is inevitable lowering of their efficiency as educators, with accompanying bad effects on the children under their care. As long as 12 years ago Pres. Linville found 33 per cent of pupils from overcrowded high school classes dropping out during their first year. There is no doubt, he says, that the proportion has increased since that time. As the size of the average teacher's pupil-load continues to mount, he now finds 32 per cent to 46 per cent of second year high school students taking courses "over"—a second or third time.

Finally, there is a steady increase in occupational disease among teachers as a result of the speedup system. Heart trouble is rapidly coming to be the characteristic disease of teachers, says the American Teacher, monthly organ of the American Federation of Teachers. It quotes Dr. Frank Fischer of Seattle, who says: ". . . There is not the slightest doubt that this is traceable to the severe exertions imposed on their physical strength." A Chicago doctor's dictum that "If it were not for teachers, a good many of us doctors would have to find another occupation," is also quoted.

"CIVILIZED BARBARISM" FOR GIRLS

Military training in our schools and colleges is bad enough for boys, but what are we going to say when this abominable discipline is extended to girls? A nation would seem to be moving fast and far back into the regions of utter barbarism when it takes its young women and attempts to turn them into a tribe of Amazons. And yet this is precisely what this country is undertaking to do in not a few of our so-called institutions of learning. As an example of what we mean, take the following story clipped from the Omaha (Nebraska) World-Herald for November 23, 1929:

"THE GIRLS ARE IN THE ARMY NOW—NORTH HIGH GIRL PUPILS FORM CADET BATTALION AND WILL BE GIVEN RIFLES—ALL START AS PRIVATES IN THE RANK—FACULTY APPROVES.

A girl battalion that hopes to give the boys' battalion at North High School some keen competition has been organized with 152 girls in the ranks.

As yet no officers have been appointed, nor do the girl cadets have uniforms, but plans are being made to provide both within the near future. It is the first girl battalion to be organized in an Omaha high school, and carries the full backing of the faculty.

The girls plan to hold regular weekly drill just as the boys do, although during this semester, until the project is a little better organized, it will be conducted without rifles. Two cadet captains will be in command."

This is a lovely exhibition for a civilized community, isn't it? Note how this movement for turning girls into soldiers carried "the full backing of the faculty" of the school in question. It had the full backing, also, of the War Department in Washington, we may be sure. Under existing law, to be sure, the War Department is unable officially to sponsor such a piece of savagery as this. But Congressman Collins was undoubtedly correct when he said, in a recent speech in the House anent this incident,

"The girls will probably be able to borrow the rifles used by the Reserve Officers Training Corps boys and occasionally borrow their best looking officers. After a few more years of boosting

the military idea in this country, the ladies may receive further consideration."

Already they are receiving attention in our courts. For is not this arming of our young women for service in the next war the real explanation of the refusal of the courts to grant citizenship to such notable pacifist women as Rosika Schwimmer and Margaret Dorland Webb? Women must fight in this Christian age and country of ours, so willingness to fight must be a condition of citizenship! The only way to stop this villainous thing is to crush military training as one would crush a snake. Wipe it out, root and branch!

—Unity.

POOLED EXPERIENCE

Recognizing the bigness of a problem is one long step toward its solution. "How to Organize: A Problem" offers in brief the findings of three conferences where men and women of knowledge and first-hand experience discussed a "new technique" in the organizing of women. The best thought of both leaders and rank and file has been gathered into this booklet, which reflects unsolved problems and encouraging ideas. It is put forth to stimulate trade union organizers (the wise and the inexperienced, the expert and the discouraged), to think about how better to do their job.

Emphasis is laid upon questions, not answers: How to approach the employer, how to build up the best working relationship once the union is recognized, how to make the union operate as an economic machine for improving conditions—these and other questions are given careful consideration.

On leadership, the contribution of one who knows something of its requirements is included: "A leader is one who strives earnestly to inform himself on all problems affecting his people, who tells them honestly what he sees, who plans and shows how to carry out those plans, who guides as well as commands."

"How to Organize: A Problem"—paper covered, 74 pages, can be obtained for ten cents net from the National Women's Trade Union League of America at 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

—Life and Labor Bulletin.

FEDERATION'S INJUNCTION PROPOSAL

No more difficult or important problem has faced the American Federation of Labor during the past year than that of drafting a legislative proposal to remedy abuses of the injunction as used in labor disputes. Although it has been easy enough to recognize the problem it has been much more difficult to determine principles of relief.

A great mass of injunctions have been granted under the conspiracy doctrine and the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act have been invoked. In other cases equity powers were misapplied or perverted.

During the past year a special committee has been studying the question of injunction relief. The report of this committee, submitted to the Toronto Convention, was one of the most important matters upon which the convention made decision. The committee recommended that a legislative proposal to amend or repeal the Sherman, Clayton and other restrictive acts be prepared and submitted a draft measure dealing with the injunction. The proposal recognizes the established constitutional jurisdiction of equity, but it seeks to limit and prescribe procedure for its application.

Section 2 of the draft bill sets forth a declaration of public policy recognizing the necessity of according to wage-earners full freedom of trade-union organization, association, and the performance of union functions.

Section 3 is to nullify yellow-dog contracts.

Section 4 seeks to make the rights and functions of union effective by protecting them against injunctions.

Section 5 protects unions against conspiracy doctrine.

Section 6 limits liability for acts of unions or union representatives.

Section 7 limits injunctions to cases in which the court finds:

- (a) That unlawful acts have been committed and will be continued unless restrained; and
- (b) That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow; and
- (c) That complainants have no adequate remedy at law; and

- (d) That the public officers charged with the duty to protect complainant's property are unable or unwilling to furnish adequate protection.

Procedure is stipulated and jury trial provided.

The enactment of such a legislative proposal would prevent much of the injustice which has oppressed wage-earners and would enable them to further their interests in orderly ways.

RADIO OWNED BY FEW; LABOR CROWDED OUT

Radio broadcasting is too great a medium of mass communication to be used purely for entertainment purposes, Hope Thompson, counsel for Station WCFL, told a Senate committee in explaining the futile efforts of labor's broadcasting station to secure adequate radio facilities from the Federal Radio Commission.

Station WCFL, owned and operated by Chicago Federation of Labor, is restricted to daylight operation.

Mr. Thompson said the Chicago Federation of Labor and the A. F. of L. can not obtain a cleared channel and high power for this station to be used as the radio spokesman for labor, with educational programs the primary function. Since the Commission's last denial of its application it has appealed to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. The case is pending.

"This field of communication should be kept from private domination," said Mr. Thompson. "The person or group which controls radio broadcasting in the years to come will control the nation."

The powers that now have the choice frequencies, continued the witness, "are so influential that I doubt that Congress will dare meet the situation."

"Radio reaches the hearthstones of nearly every American home. Why should it be used to sing 'Old Pal' all the time or pound the air with jazz music? This marvelous power that can help the people is being prostituted."

The people who have no weaknesses are terrible; there is no way of taking advantage of them.—Anatole France.

UNEMPLOYMENT

By John H. Walker, President, Illinois
State Federation of Labor

Recently the President of the United States, Herbert Hoover said; "There is, to my mind, no economic failure so terrible in its import as that of a country possessing a surplus of every necessity of life with numbers, willing and anxious to work, deprived of those necessities. It simply cannot be if our moral and economic system is to survive."

In view of our capacity to produce more than we need on the basis of present hours of labor per day, and days per week, with the very grave situation confronting us because of the large amount of unemployment, it should be driven home to employers, business men, all citizens, that when a legitimate public or private need in our country goes unsupplied *now*, the only result that takes place is, that the industries that would have supplied it, are thrown, unnecessarily into costly idleness. *No one profits by it.* The workers lose the employment and wages that would come from supplying those needs. The owners lose the profits that would come from the operation of the industries in producing those supplies. The transportation industry loses because of their not having the opportunity to transport the raw materials and finished products; the business man loses the profit involved in handling those supplies, and the professional man loses the opportunity to sell his services to persons in need of them, but who, because of lack of finances, are unable to employ them. Thus, not alone the persons in want, suffer unnecessarily, but every one else suffers because of those industries lying idle—everyone would have profited by supplying that need, besides relieving the need itself.

This is true with reference to aged worthy people, widowed mothers with helpless children, and other worthy men and women who are disabled, or sick, as well as those who are seeking employment and cannot find it. It is also true with reference to public works or functions.

There is no condition that can be more terrible than that of the needy unemployed, who are seeking in vain for employment. The president of the United States does not exaggerate the conditions in his statement; and for a large number

of honest men and women with their helpless dependents to be left in this condition for a long period, not only means suffering beyond description, but a moral breakdown for them, with disastrous consequences to the rest of society.

No one can justify this condition in our country. There can be no good reason assigned for it. It is utterly indefensible. Honest men or women seeking the opportunity to earn a living for themselves and their dependents by honest labor, should not be denied that opportunity. This situation is a challenge, particularly to those who have been opposing the organization of workers—those folks who are responsible for the workers themselves having been prevented from working out a solution of this problem. It is, or should be, on their conscience. Anti-union employers, anti-union business men, professional men, and those who, while they may not have been actively opposed to the workers' organization, were indifferent, should all feel a sense of responsibility in this matter and should leave nothing undone that they can think of, to remedy this condition. It is particularly an obligation on those who claim to represent the Carpenter of Nazareth, to relieve this suffering, because it is the helpless and innocent, who are *not* responsible for the conditions that obtain, that are suffering the most.

Every pulpit should be proclaiming the injustice of this condition, the great wrong that is being perpetrated on these people, should be suggesting remedies for it, urging that those remedies be applied, doing everything that lies in its power, to bring about a cure for this terrible evil.

Without the union all labor would still be the victim of the long day, the insufficient wage and kindred injustices. Under the present organization of society, labor's only safeguard against a retrogression to former inhuman standards is the union.—*Commission on Social Justice, Central Conference of American Rabbis.*

As long as nations meet on the fields of war—as long as they sustain the relations of savages to each other—as long as they put the laurel and the oak on the brows of those who kill—just so long will citizens resort to violence, and the quarrels be settled by dagger and revolver.—*Robert G. Ingersoll.*

MARION MILL BOSS GETS USURER'S PROFITS IN COUPON GRAFT AT HIS STORE

By Gilbert E. Hyatt

Marion, N. C.—(FP)—A highly interesting aftermath of the successful efforts of Pres. R. W. Baldwin of the Marion Mfg. Co. to convict Alfred Hoffmann, United Textile Workers' organizer and three strikers, Lawrence Hogan, Wes Fowler and Del Lewis is the revelation of a widespread system of discounting his employes' credit at the company store.

Evidence of this system came to light while Baldwin's attorneys, as "assistants" to Solicitor J. Will Pless, were moving heaven and earth against Hoffmann and his associates. It is carried on with the knowledge of the mill supervisors and is so well recognized as to have an established discount rate of 25% although the needs of the workers occasionally makes possible the exaction of an even higher usury.

The system is: After hiring out, a worker receives no pay for two weeks. One week's pay is always held back. But those unable to support themselves for two weeks, and they constitute the great majority, are allowed to buy coupon books, against their wages, of \$1, \$2, \$4 and \$5 good at the company store.

This store carries supplies of "fatback" bread, canned goods, cowfeed and dry goods of a quality within the very limited means of the workers.

The coupon books are conspicuously marked as nontransferable and bear the name of the employe to whom issued and the date. The policy is to keep the coupons from being used as ready money, so if anything is wanted which is not carried in stock, the company will buy it from an uptown store and check the amount against wages or tear out the sum from the coupon book.

After the workers had repeatedly asserted that this traffic existed and that several of the mill overseers and bosses practiced it, an investigation was made which more than confirmed their charges. This investigation was conducted in company with Sec. William Smith of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.

A book was purchased by a strikebreaker from one of his fellow workers within six feet

of the cashier's window for \$1.50 and sold to us for its face value of \$2. This strikebreaker said that it was his regular practice to purchase a sufficient number of books to cover his weekly store bill.

A storekeeper in the mill village was next visited. He stated that he did not make a regular practice of purchasing books but that, in spite of the fact that the company store was a formidable rival, he occasionally helped mill workers among his customers when in dire need of ready money. The prices at the company store were, he said, so high that he could make no profit by purchasing goods for resale, even with the 25% discount. He had, however, held as much as \$40 worth of coupons at one time.

A second storekeeper confirmed these statements by acknowledging the occasional purchase of books as an accommodation to poverty stricken customers. Another merchant, a general dealer whose dingy store contained a curious collection of odds and ends, exhibited a number of books which, he said, he had induced workers to purchase and turn in for bad debts. He only practiced this discounting, he claimed, as a means of collection because of the high prices in the company store.

A former mill worker, now on strike, volunteered the information that he had lent his "bossmen" money with which to purchase these books. A superannuated mill hand was the next to furnish information. He had begun the purchase of books, he said, to augment his inadequate income but had drifted into it as a regular business after being compelled to quit work because of ill health. His regular purchases ranged up to as high as \$25 or \$30 in one day.

CHILD LABOR LAW NEEDED

"No great economic harm would result if every child under 16 years of age was withdrawn from the nation's wage-earning class," declared Wiley H. Swift of the National Child Labor Committee.

"Such withdrawal, in view of the large number of unemployed, would do much good," said Mr. Swift. He agreed that this policy would often run counter to necessity, but these are exceptions, and must be treated as emergencies, he said.

That is not riches, which may be lost; virtue is our true good and the true reward of its possessor.—*Da Vinci.*

SOUTHERN ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN

In conformity with the action of the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, an intensive organization campaign of the southern workers was launched in Charlotte, North Carolina, on January sixth.

About 250 people were present, representing practically every International Union and State Federation of Labor. The serious-minded purpose with which this organization drive was being undertaken was strikingly evident.

The first session was opened by T. A. Wilson, president of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor. President Green, in a most eloquent and inspiring address, outlined the policies and plans of the Federation, giving a significant and straightforward analysis of the philosophy of the American Labor Movement.

He said,

"We feel that if the people want to organize into trade unions of the American Federation of Labor their right shall not be denied them. We are here in response to the call of the men and women in the mills and workshops of the South to help them and the community as well. We are not preaching revolutionary destruction, but we are here to lay down plans not only for the benefit of the working men, but for business and for every organization that goes to make up the life of the community and society." In closing he said, "We want to show this is no mere gesture, but a great crusade on behalf of a great movement."

The opening meeting was also addressed by Frank Morrison, Secretary, and Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The afternoon session was addressed by the presidents of the Southern State Federations of Labor, George L. Googe, president of the Savannah Trades and Labor Assembly, Matilda Lindsay, Southern Representative for the National Women's Trade Union League and Florence Curtis Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers.

At the evening session many of the organizers and officers present pledged the fullest cooperation and support to the campaign.

Birmingham, Alabama, was chosen as the head-

quarters of the southern campaign because it lies very near the center of the entire southern section and is accessible from all directions of the South. The Directing Committee to have charge of this office and to have the responsibility of carrying through the plans consists of the following members: Paul J. Smith of the United Mine Workers of America and an organizer for the American Federation of Labor; W. C. Birthright, Vice-President of the Journeymen Barbers International Union and Secretary of the Tennessee State Federation of Labor; and Francis J. Gorman, First Vice-President of the United Textile Workers of America. After the adjournment of the conference, this committee left for Birmingham immediately to organize the headquarters and get the work under way.

The first developments in the campaign included a visit by President Green to a number of Southern cities: Birmingham (Alabama), on January 20; Memphis (Tennessee), on the 21st, then Nashville and Knoxville (Tennessee), Asheville (North Carolina), Elizabethton (Tennessee), and Richmond (Virginia). This will complete the first series, but he will return to the South at a later date.

The textile industry in the South is the major consideration in these southern organization plans, but all other groups are included. It is a general organization drive. The right of the worker to belong to a trade union is the leading principle in the campaign and for the establishment of this principle for the workers in every industry in the South, all groups of workers are striving.

That Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, was a fitting locality for the declaration of an industrial independence, since it was the scene of America's first declaration of independence, was pertinently pointed out by President Green.

THE NON-UNIONISTS

Visitor at lunatic asylum to keeper: "How many lunatics have you here?"

Keeper: "About seven hundred and fifty."

Visitor: "And how many keepers?"

Keeper: "Twelve."

Visitor: "Are you not afraid that the lunatics will organize, and being combined overcome you?"

Keeper, with a smile: "Lunatics never organize."

Told at Teachers Union Banquet in Chicago by T. V. Sullivan, Attorney Chicago Board of Education.

WOMEN AGAIN QUESTION CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR

Three hundred women, delegates and visitors from eleven national organizations, opened their fifth annual conference on The Cause and Cure of War at the Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C., Jan. 14, under the direction of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. The eleven organizations include the National League of Woman Voters, the National Women's Trade Union League, the American Association of University Women, and various religious, welfare and mission groups.

Their first action was the adoption of two resolutions previously endorsed at many local and state gatherings. These were a message to the London Naval Conference and an appeal to President Hoover and the Senate for ratification of American entry into the World Court.

In the message to the London Conference the assertion is made that this conference of women speaks for a combined membership representing one-fifth of the adult women in the United States and that the delegates therefore speak confidently for public opinion.

"It is our firm belief," the message runs, "that the majority of the population in the United States is in steadfast agreement with the Paris Pact renouncing war, and they are prepared to acclaim and support all acts of the Conference which meet with their expectations.

"We therefore entreat the honorable delegates not to stay their deliberations until effective means have been found to relieve the citizens of the Great Powers from the enormous and burdensome cost of the building and maintenance of naval armament no longer required, to reduce naval armament among the Great Powers to a point so low that our own and other nations may feel secure against attack, to end forever the competition in naval building among the Great Powers, and thus to bring the relations of these Powers into more genuine accord with the principles of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War."

Miss Rose Schneiderman president of the National Women's Trade Union League, presided at the final session, Jan. 17, when

spokesmen for France, Great Britain, Japan, Germany and the United States answered the questions—How far is the peace question woman's responsibility, and how many women be an effective force in the general movement?

WORLD-MINDEDNESS IN ASSEMBLY PROGRAMS

Two series of programs adapted for high school assembly and class room use have been prepared by Rachel Davis Du Bois, M.A., Columbia University, for the purpose of equipping the student with a fuller knowledge and appreciation of other races and nationalities. These programs were given by the author before her own school and are entirely practical.

Series I—THE CONTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT RACIAL AND NATIONAL ELEMENTS TO AMERICAN LIFE (price 10c) takes up a different racial group or country for each month, with suggestions, including bibliography, for study of its peculiar influence on art, literature, music, science, history, etc. February, for instance, with Lincoln's birthday, is selected for emphasis on the gifts of the Negro; October, because of Columbus Day, for the Italians.

Series II—EDUCATION IN WORLD-MINDEDNESS (price 10c) presents as monthly topics various phases of culture, such as language, science, the dance, mathematics, government, etc., tracing the contribution of each to world unity.

Both Series I and II may be obtained upon receipt in stamps of the price stated from the Women's International League, Pennsylvania Branch, 1924 Chestnut Street Philadelphia, Pa.

The Committee on Militarism in Education has published the facts on methods used to popularize the war idea among students, in a pamphlet replete with pictures and quotations. One such picture shows a natty girl officer, dressed in a uniform of cap, jacket, breeches, boots, spurs and military cape, 'presenting arms' with her saber to Maj. Gen. Summerall, while he says: "No wonder the Creighton R. O. T. C. is such a well-drilled unit," as he reviews the cadets at the Omaha school.

To have what we want is riches, but to be able to do without is power—Ramsay MacDonald.

PROPOSED PENSION LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK

The teachers of the Retirement Board and a cooperating committee of the Pension Delegates have prepared four pension bills to protect the rights of the teachers. These bills have been introduced into the legislature by Senator Samuel H. Hofstadter and Assemblyman Abbot L. Moffatt who handled our bill to eliminate the Death-bed gamble. The bills provide for the following changes and should receive the fullest support of our members:

The first bill amends section 1091-a and empowers the Board of Examiners to grant credit not only for professional educational experience but also for non-teaching experience whether in the industrial or mercantile or vocational field. The bill also enables the Retirement Board in computing prior service to make the following allowances:

1. For all city service—full credit.
2. *For Present Teachers:* (a) For all teaching and supervising service in schools and colleges not run by the city of New York.

(b) For all service allowed by the Board of Examiners whether trade or professional under section 1091-a.

(c) For any service rendered by a regular teacher for which the Board of Examiners has established an eligible list.

3. *For New Entrants:* (a) Credit not to exceed fifteen years for service in schools and colleges outside of New York City.

(b) Credit for non-teaching service, as above allowed for non-teaching service under section 1091-a.

(c) Credit for teaching and supervising service for which the Board of Examiners has established an eligible list.

4. *Prior Service:* Credit may be given for vocational service, for continuous teaching service of at least twelve weeks in public schools or per annum service allowed by the Board of Examiners. The bill further allows non-teaching service allowed by the Board of Examiners.

The second bill amends section 1091-b and validates all credit allowed by the Board of Examiners including credit for non-teaching service thus making impossible the removal of such credit already allowed in the prior

service certificates and validates most of the prior service certificates already issued except illegal grants, thereby giving stability to the pension law.

The third bill amends the definition of the words "present teacher" so as to include those persons who were in the system on the first day of August, 1917, and contributed to the pension system and subsequently resigned from the school system. If such teachers afterward re-enter the service they may be classified as present teachers with the same rights and privileges as to rates of deduction prior service credit, death benefit, etc.

The fourth bill amends section Y of the Retirement Law giving to public school teachers the same right enjoyed by the teachers of the College of the City of New York; that is the right to retire after thirty years on the basis of a fractional instead of an actuarial equivalent which is so small as to be useless to the teachers. Under this amendment if a sick or worn out teacher seeks to retire they will receive 30/35, 31/35 etc., of the pension they would have been entitled to after thirty-five years of service—a very substantial increase.

THE UNION TEACHER, New York City.

DO YOU KNOW

1. That more than a million children in the United States under 16 years are gainfully employed, and a third of these are 13 years or under?

2. That 1,400,000 children between the ages of 7 and 14 are not attending school?

3. That 11 states do not require a certificate of physical fitness as a condition for employment?

4. That over 52,000 children are employed in manufacturing in states which still permit them to work more than 48 hours a week?

5. That 21 states permit 14-year-old children to run elevators, and 15 permit them to oil, wipe and clean machinery in motion.

"The future of any nation depends upon the molding of the minds and bodies of the younger generation."—Theodore Roosevelt.

A sound discretion is not so much indicated by never making a mistake as by never repeating it.

MILWAUKEE VOCATIONAL TEACHERS, LOCAL 212

The Milwaukee Vocational School Teachers Association affiliated as Local 212 of the American Federation of Teachers in January.

On January 25 a luncheon meeting was held at the New Randolph Hotel, at which the speakers were Henry Ohl, Jr., president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Florence Curtis Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers. A large number of teachers joined the Association at this meeting.

A program of remedial legislation is already under way.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY OUSTS 37-CENT WOMEN

Aristocratic Harvard University, the richest school in America, with an endowment of more than \$90,000,000, discharged 20 cleaning women because the State Minimum Wage Board asked that their wages be increased from 35 cents an hour to 37 cents.

The women were replaced by men for whom there are no minimum wage requirements.

The dismissals, some on November 1 and some on December 21, the Saturday before Christmas, came to light when two of the women applied for work at an employment office.

The discharges were confirmed by President Lowell of the university in a letter to Rev. William H. Duvall, Methodist Episcopal clergyman at East Cambridge.

"I find," said President Lowell, "that the State Minimum Wage Board has been complaining of our employing women for these purposes at less than 37 cents an hour and hence the university has felt constrained to replace them with men."

The minimum wage law for women was enacted in 1912. The only penalty for failure to comply with the wage board's decisions is publication of the names of offending employers in the advertising columns of newspapers. The board made the 37-cent rate on December 30, 1920, effective the following February.

"Today we are traveling in high-powered automobiles, on speedy trains, by steamboat and even in airplanes; we communicate with distant points by telegraph, telephone and radio, but only a comparatively small percentage of our schools have made equal progress.

Despite the fact that the past 25 years have seen a great improvement in school practices, education is not keeping pace with the scientific developments of our age. The result is enormous waste and loss."

—Representative Daniel R. Reed of New York.

WHY I AM A MEMBER OF THE TEACHER'S UNION

JOHN DEWEY, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University

I am a member of the Teachers Union for the following reasons, among others:

(1) I think it essential, in order to develop a genuine professional spirit, that every teacher have the sense of solidarity with other members of his profession.

(2) Because in the present state of affairs, organized cooperation is the most effective means for securing the public attention and respect, without which the cause of education cannot progress.

(3) The economic basis of education is so marked, and there are so many economic interests attempting to employ the schools for other ends, that it is important that teachers recognize the interest which they have in common with workers in all branches.

JOSEPH K. HART, Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin

I am a member of the Teachers Union because the whole domain of education and schooling must be re-examined today by realistic and critical thinkers who will not be afraid of either economic or sentimental bugaboos, and who will eventually compel the public to listen to what they have to say. Such thinkers must, for the most part, be in the schools. They must have the support of at least some school people, and their tenure of position and their right to speak must be defended by school people. I am in the Union because I want to do what I can to support and defend this critically realistic program. I may add that the Union is the only organization to which I now belong.

E. C. LINDEMAN, Professor of Social Psychology, New York School of Social Work

I am a member of the Teachers Union because I believe thoroughly in collective action. In modern communities power resides in groups, not individuals; the individual becomes significant in proportion to his loyal activity in a functional group. The Teachers Union is such a group and therefore deserves my loyalty.

BOOKS

*"There is no frigate like a book
To bear us lands away."*

—Emily Dickinson.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC: By Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker, published by the John Day Company, New York, 1929. 374 pp. Price, \$4.00.

As stated in the Preface, this book is not a detailed exposition of the entire system of Education in the German Republic. But it is a replete, attractive view of the spirit of this education by authors who are evidently well acquainted with Education in Germany both before and since the World War.

The "new" education in Germany is not new, not even a graft, but is a growth, an evolution, which has been progressing since 1880 or earlier. The two striking German traits, idealism and scientific, ponderous exactitude, are prominent.

There are a number of outstanding features in the German plan of Education. Among some of the more prominent are the following FIRST: at the end of the first four years of schooling, further work is dependent upon the desires of the parents, the abilities of the child and the judgments of his teachers. Tests are given to determine whether or not the child has the ability to profit from further school work. If his regular daily education ceases at this point he must attend CONTINUATION SCHOOLS until the age of eighteen. (This cessation of educational work at the close of the first four years, while it doubtless does save money for the government, must result in a lowering of the general educational equipment of the masses. It certainly is in strong contrast with the system in the United States where an eighth grade education is the very least that will satisfy.)

SECOND: Co-education is not favored. (This is a peculiar situation due, doubtless, to a persistence of the German attitude toward woman as a Hausfrau. In Soviet Russia co-education is stressed as one of the means of bringing about real equality of the sexes.)

THIRD: The training of the teacher, even the elementary school teacher, is on the University level. (This certainly is a step in the right direction. There are a number of cities in the United States, unfortunately all too few, that make such requirements for their teachers.)

FOURTH: The ideas, practices, and spirit of Lichtwark, as he developed them in his Hamburg School, are enthusiastically set forth by the authors as guides to modern practice in German schools.

FIFTH: Teachers in Germany control the schools. There are no principals. Instead, teacher groups direct the work and there is practically no supervision. This results in true individual instruction and in tolerance of both the old and the new—both the tried and the untried in method. Real experimentation is going on.

SIXTH: A system of COUNTRY HOMES for city schools has been developed. What were formerly the estates of royalty are now being used by the schools of a given district much as we employ fresh air farms. In addition to fostering the landloving and the "Fatherland" sides of German youth these schools also afford relaxation from the strife of the city.

At a time when the entire educational system of both the Federal and local governments is being closely scrutinized and criticized it certainly is worth while to pause and consider some of the new ideas that dominate German education. Especially striking is the following quotation:

"We cannot be indifferent to the state of mind of the teacher, especially when it depends upon him alone whether the school of the twentieth century shall continue to be a burden in pupils' lives or whether it shall be loved by children and the parents who send their offspring thither. . . . All school reforms stand or fall with the teacher. The best curriculum cannot give him wings; the worst cannot restrict him altogether. The kernel of his success lies in the vital force which he develops in his pupils. Thus Lichtwark voiced his plea for professional equality and a release of the creative power of the individual teacher who had been stifled by officialdom. Teachers cannot learn

how to attain the goals by rules and methods. One may prepare for instruction day by day but not for the exercise of the educative influence. All school reforms should begin with the selection and education of teachers."

This quotation should cause us to think. What are we doing in the United States to insure that the teachers are being prepared properly? Should there be standardized preparation regardless of the community the teacher is planning to serve? What about University training for EVERY teacher? How would you, as a teacher, like to take over the control of your school and be responsible for it—without any principal? Is that a more democratic way to operate a school, or should we retain principals? A number of other interesting problems will present themselves to the mind of the reader.

Certainly, in view of the frightened state of mind that some Boards of Education take pains to create in the minds of their teachers, the principles adopted in Germany's educational system might profitably be read—and adopted.

M. L. GRONERT.

LABOR IS SPEAKING . . .

"The vast majority of workers speak of Jesus Christ and the Church as two separate entities, because they believe in Jesus Christ and His teachings, yet find little of the spirit of the Brotherhood of Man in actual practice in the Church today."

These are frank words from Arthur O. Wharton, President of the American Association of Machinists, one of the most intelligent and powerful of American labor organizations. The note which he sounds recurs throughout this important new book, in which the views and opinions of the foremost labor spokesmen of the world today are collected.

LABOR SPEAKS FOR ITSELF ON RELIGION

A Symposium of Labor Leaders Throughout the World, Edited with an Introduction by Jerome Davis

Why is the Church held in such low esteem by the men who are guiding labor toward a new and better day in the social order? Why do they say, almost without exception, the Church needs a new social program to be saved?

That such questions should be asked at all ought to make you pause and think—about the Church, about your own congregation, about the attitude which you now hold. That they should be asked in such blunt language by men who really represent the voice of millions is enough to jar the foundations of religion as it is organized and practiced today.

For this is labor's coming age. A Labor Government sits in the seat of the mighty in Great Britain. Communist Labor rules Russia. Mahatma Gandhi organizes the hordes of India. The American Labor movement, a bit quiescent since the death of Samuel Gompers, shows the beginning of a new militant regime. Labor everywhere is increasing in numbers, power, and influence.

In consequence, if you, as a spiritual leader of this age, ignore what labor leaders are now thinking and saying openly, the Church will be paying for your complacency in the face of a mighty challenge centuries from now. The New York Times, a conservative of conservatives, is convinced that:—

"Ministers and church leaders of all sects will do well to read what this book has to say, for it is very likely that few of them have any idea of what has been going on in the minds of labor leaders and their followers in this matter . . .

"Here they can find out both the what and the why of that thinking . . .

"In short there is, in this little book, enough dynamite to give to think furiously, not only churchmen, but also sociologists and men and women of other 'ists' who like to think about and build toward the future . . ."

LABOR SPEAKS FOR ITSELF ON RELIGION is a book you cannot afford to ignore. Size, 12 mo., 265 pages, Red cloth binding, Price \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, 65 Fifth Ave., New York City.

"Saturday and Sunday—Assets or Liabilities" is the topic of the current issue of CHILD STUDY which is dated December, 1929.

Mrs. Zilpha Carruthers Franklin of the Editorial staff of CHILD STUDY writes on what to do in the hours when one does not "have to do" anything. In this number LeRoy E. Bowman, Secretary of the City Recreation Committee of New York, contributes an article on "The Play World of the City Child." The resources

for recreation offer a child challenging opportunities for coming to terms with the world he must live in. They are becoming increasingly part of the city's resources for education, meaning, by education, development in individual abilities and in social adjustment. The nursery school, kindergarten and play school may prove not only the most wholesome but also, when once they are generally understood, the most practicable ways of giving children their chance to play in the city.

Bernard J. Fagan, Chief Probation Officer, Children's Court; School of Social Service, Fordham University, writes on "Safeguarding Children's Leisure."

Ethel Puffer Howes, Director of the Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests, Smith College, writes on "Home—A Project."

Mrs. Robert E. Simon, President, Horace Mann Parent-Teacher Association, makes a contribution on "Week-Ends to Fit the Family." There are many other features including Parents' Questions, news notes in the field, etc.

For months the Children's Book Committee has been at work reviewing the 1929 books for children. This December number carries an annotated list of a selection of the year's best books for children. There is also a department on toys which should be very helpful to parents, friends and relatives in making their selection of gifts. The good toy or plaything is one which the child will go back to, if not on the same day, on another—with renewed interest. There are certain essentials in well chosen toys. They should be sturdy, suitable to the age and ability of the child, adaptable for varied play, and attractive in design and color. It is through play with toys that the child is stimulated to the use of his hands, his body, his imagination and his mind. Every child's toy collection should be varied enough to satisfy these possibilities for growth, and to that end there should be toys for physical exercise and outdoor play; dramatic and imitative play; manipulative and creative play, and games for socialization and skill. This very useful list has been compiled by Mrs. Edith London Boehm.

FARMER GETS \$669 A YEAR FOR HIS LABOR

By Grace Hutchins

Federated Press

Depression that has held the farmers, particularly the rain farmers, in its grip for three full years hangs black and heavy over the farm family, now averaging only \$669 a year in disposable income. Present falling prices of wheat bushels in the Chicago market only call attention to a steady decline in grain prices from 1925 to 1929.

What the decline in purchasing power of farm products means even to the moderately prosperous farm family is explained by an agricultural economist, Ellis Lore Kirkpatrick of the U. S.

Department of Agriculture in a book called *The Farmer's Standard of Living*.* "The farmer's cry of the disparity between what he gets and what he pays" is analyzed by this government expert in every statistical detail, but he politely regrets the "general outpouring of gloom over the financial side of farming."

While this professional optimist talks about assisting 6,000,000 farm families engaged in the greatest industry of the nation "to find more of the real satisfaction of farming and farm life," another division in the Department of Agriculture calculates the reward per family for labor and management as \$669 for the year 1928-29, compared with \$691 in 1925-26.

"The season's returns represent an average income per farm operator available for labor, capital and management of \$901 compared with \$896 in 1927-28 and \$922 in 1925-26. If a conservative interest allowance is made for the operator's net capital investment, there is indicated a reward for the operator's labor and management of \$669."

Yearly returns for the farmer's labor, as calculated by the federal department, were as follows:

Reward, per farm family, for labor and management.

Year	Income available for capital, labor and management	Interest allowance on net capital investment per farm	Reward for labor and management
1925-26	\$922	\$231	\$691
1926-27	862	226	636
1927-28	896	228	668
1928-29	901	232	669

Another index of the farmer's situation is the relative purchasing power of his product, when the price he receives for his goods is compared with the retail price of the commodities he buys. The following figures give this index, with the average prices of 1910-1914 as a base:

Relative purchasing power of farmer's product.	1925	1926	1927	1928
	92	87	85	85

"In some localities," comments the Hoover report on *Recent Economic Changes*, "farmers have been constrained to work longer hours and use more labor of women and children in the hope that a larger output might offset the unsatisfactory unit price of their product." Yet overproduction of wheat and other farm products is one of the causes of falling prices.

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Translated into human terms, these figures mean in the words of one farmwoman who wrote in to the Department of Agriculture, "we have to work 12 to 13 hours a day to make a living. I think I might almost as soon have been in jail, because the work is so hard and is never done."

*The Farmer's Standard of Living, by Ellis Lore Kirkpatrick. Century Co., New York, 1929. \$2.00.

THE QUEST FOR CERTAINTY: By *John Dewey*, Minton, Balch & Company, New York. 318 pp. \$4.00.

"The Quest for Certainty" most certainly is a book for teachers. But do not be intrigued by this! You will find the reading of it difficult—but valuable. Dewey certainly manages to dress up his ideas in the most abstract and technical language that one can imagine. Of course, this is necessary in any attempt to be exact in language because of the many connotations that our words have come to possess. However, it is well worth the time of the reader who is willing to make allowance for its difficulty.

John Dewey was recently ranked with Socrates, Plato, Jesus, and Herbart as one of the philosophers who have interested themselves in practical education. What does Dewey think of Education as it is today? He says of it that "inculcations of fixed conclusions rather than development of intelligence as a method of action still dominates its processes." Furthermore, he says of its results, "If men had been educated to think about broader humane values as they have now learned to think about matters which fall within the scope of the technical arts, our whole present situation would be very different."

So much to awaken us, the teachers, to our need to quest with him towards certainty in our field. But make no mistake—this is no text in educational methods. Here are the ideas, beliefs, certainties of the Dewey of three score and ten, and of international fame and honor.

This review is from the point of view, not of the philosopher or the literary critic, but from that of a teacher-reader. Forewarned as the teachers are in this review it is hoped that

they may be stimulated to browse through the book for further reading and contacts with this greatest of educators. With this idea in mind it seems proper to use the essay form in setting forth some of Dewey's ideas in this book that would be valuable for teachers.

OF SCIENTIFIC METHODS: The quest for certainty becomes the search for methods of control; that is, regulation of conditions of change with respect to their consequences. Knowledge consists of the ability to establish changed conditions and to be able to predict what the results of those changes will be. Knowledge thus becomes a method of control. Extent of control is dependent upon the capacity to link connected series of correlated changes so that each linked pair leads on to another. Scientific method is, in reality, a technique for making a productive use of doubt.

OF REVOLUTION IN THINKING: The remarkable difference which accepts objects of ordinary perception, use, and enjoyment as final, as culminations of natural processes and that which takes them as starting points for reflection and investigation, is one which reaches far beyond the technicalities of science. It marks a revolution in the whole spirit of life, in the entire attitude toward whatever is found in existence. When the things that exist around us are regarded as interrogations for which an answer must be sought, nature as it already exists ceases to be something which must be accepted and submitted to, endured or enjoyed, just as it is. It is now something to be modified—to be intentionally controlled. Nature, as it exists at any particular time, is a challenge rather than a completion.

OF SYMBOLS: The invention of symbols, of which words are an example, is the single greatest event in history. They render performance of experiments possible with results so symbolized that we are not committed to consequences. Without symbols no intellectual advance is possible; with them, there is no limit set to intellectual development except inherent stupidity.

OF IDEAS VERSUS ACTION: Of all philosophical problems that which concerns the

nature and worth of ideas is probably the one that most readily appeals to the cultivated mind. Men are wont to pay tribute to thought and its powers. Materialism is regarded as sordid because of its depression of thought, which is treated as an illusion. Dewey points out that this divorce is unnecessary. Neither alone is fully potent. Ideas must be carried over into action before the ideas are worth while and action, representing materialism, must be guided by the controlling force of ideas. Only in the harmonious working of the two will the greatest control of conduct result. Serious minds have always desired a world in which experiences would be productive of ideas and of meanings, and in which these ideas in turn would regulate conduct. Action is the means by which a problematic situation is resolved.

OF MORAL LAW: It is both astonishing and depressing that so much of the energy of mankind has gone into fighting for the truth of creeds as distinct from what has gone into effort to try creeds by putting them to the test of acting upon them. A moral law, like a law in Physics, is not something to swear by and stick to at all hazards; it is a formula of the way to respond when specified conditions present themselves. A moral system that ignores economic conditions can be nothing other than remote and empty.

OF FREEDOM: Freedom is an actuality when the recognition of relations, the stable element, is combined with the uncertain element, in the knowledge which makes foresight possible, and secures intentional preparation for probable consequences. We are free in the degree that we act knowing what we are about. The identification of "freedom of will" locates contingency in the wrong place. The most profound lack in the present age is not the will to act upon goods already known but the will to know what they are.

CONCLUSION: The old center was mind knowing by means of an equipment of powers complete within itself, and merely exercised upon an external material equally complete in itself. The new center is indefinite interactions taking place within a course of nature which is not fixed and complete, but which is

capable of direction to new and different results through the mediation of intentional operations. Neither self nor world, neither soul nor nature, is the center any more than either earth or sun is the absolute of a single universal and necessary frame of reference. Mind is no longer a spectator beholding the world from without. The mind is within the world as a part of the latter's on-going process. It is marked off as mind by the fact that wherever it is found, changes take place in a *directed* way. From knowing as an outsider beholding to knowing as an active participant in the drama of an on-moving world is the historical transition whose record we have been following.

The need for large and generous ideas in the direction of life was never more urgent than in the confusion of tongues, beliefs, and purposes that characterize present life.

M. L. GRONERT.

THE LOST CONTINENT OF ATLANTIS

Every now and then Atlantis, the supposed lost continent, comes into the news. Recently a French explorer and archaeologist, Dr. Marcel Baudouin, found sculptured forms on a rock ledge usually submerged but which is uncovered, it is reported, by very low tides. Dr. Baudouin believes his discoveries to be the work of the possible inhabitants of the somewhat legendary continent of Atlantis.

The facts about Atlantis, according to Webster's New International Dictionary, are as follows:

"A mythical island in the west, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, mentioned by Plato, Pliny, and other ancient writers, and said to have been sunk beneath the ocean by an earthquake. It was possibly an obscure tradition of the existence of a western continent."

You may have heard, too, of the New Atlantis. This is "an allegory by Lord Bacon, and the name of an island described in it as being situated, like the Atlantis of the ancients, in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Bacon represents himself as wrecked on this island, and as finding there an association for the cultivation of natural science and improvements in the arts."

Instead of such a rivalry with science in the task of knowing reality, philosophy and religion may much better find their task in making use of the results of science as aids in discerning possibilities, and in striving intelligently to discover ideals and make them actual. "An idealism of action that is devoted to creation of the future instead of to staking itself upon propositions of the past, is invincible."

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CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

The annual conference of the National Vocational Guidance Association will be held in Atlantic City on February 20th, 21st and 22nd. The headquarters of the conference will be the Hotel Chalfonte. Dr. Richard D. Allen, President of the Association, anticipates a large attendance. Dr. Morris S. Viteless, of the University of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Program Committee, has arranged a program of unusual interest. The conference will open with an address by Dr. A. J. Stoddard, Superintendent of Schools at Providence, R. I., on "The Role of Guidance in Public Education." A new feature will be a luncheon meeting, devoted to publicity for vocational guidance, at which Dr. Harry D. Kitson of Teachers College will preside. Dr. Rolf Reynolds, of Columbia will lead the discussion. Dr. Arthur J. Jones, University of Pennsylvania, will preside at another luncheon meeting when Dr. Houseman of Switzerland will discuss "Guidance Activities in Europe." The conference will devote special sessions to such topics as: Organization and Development of a Vocational Guidance Department; Placement Problems in Guidance; Guidance Outside of the School; Objective Methods in the Personal Interview in Guidance; Measurement of Interest and of Vocational Traits; Validation of Guidance Procedures; and Guidance of the Mentally Defective. There will also be a joint meeting of the Personnel Research Federation and the National Vocational Guidance Association. Each of these sessions should draw a large attendance, for each topic touches an essential phase of guidance, and each will be discussed by leaders who will present the latest findings in their particular field. The conference will mark another and a very important milestone in the history of vocational guidance and the results of such a gathering are sure to be far-reaching.

It is not how great a thing we do, but how well we do the things we have to do, that puts us in the noble brotherhood of artists.—*Haliburton*.

While volumes have been written on child care and training, by comparison there is practically nothing on the important subject of *teasing*.

CHILD STUDY has devoted its January issue to this all absorbing topic.

The editorial statement that cruelty in many instances cleverly disguised, but still essentially pleasure in the discomfort of another, is at the bottom of most such manifestations, can scarcely be denied. Cruel teasing never comes from the well adjusted and the emotionally poised. Where there is tolerance and acceptance of human difference, amusement takes the place of sadism, an amusement which invites the object himself, if he can, to participate in the fun.

Local News

CHICAGO WOMEN, LOCAL 3

The financial crisis in Chicago school affairs is being reflected in increased membership in Local No. 3. At the regular January meeting an unusually large number of new members was voted in. The crowded room and eager attention proved the interest of the teachers in the school situation. The Federation is seeking to find the truth in the confusing condition and to formulate a program for constructive legislation designed to protect the teacher and the educational fund.

Through the generosity of W. C. F. L., Labor's radio, the public is kept informed of the financial problems confronting the superintendent and the Board of Education.

The January meeting was planned especially to interest the junior high school teachers. Miss Lyons, past president of No. 3, spoke on the value of labor affiliations to teacher organization, and Miss Rubovitz, junior high school member of the Board of Directors, pointed out the importance of unionizing for the junior high school teachers. The music for the afternoon was given by Miss Gladys Easter, who sang delightfully.

The committees of No. 3 are working on several problems other than the financial. Mrs. Williams and the Working Conditions Committee are drawing up a systematic and practical plan for beginning and ending semesters; the Education Committee, with Miss Clark, are presenting to a committee of the school administration, their findings on teacher load; another committee is working jointly with the other locals on a sick leave rule; still another on restoration of teachers councils. Excellent publicity is being carried on by Mrs. Gronert, publicity chairman.

VOORHIS, LOCAL 210

The Voorhis Local is keeping in close touch with the organization movement among teachers in California and has hopes that something of value will develop out of this effort.

The Local is very much alive and has voted money to be used for the organizing work of the National. Publicity throughout the Los Angeles press is a part of the program.

H. J. VOORHIS, Secretary.

NEW YORK, LOCAL 5 ARE THE UNION DUES REALLY HIGH?

Points on the Teachers Union

Every Teacher has Benefited by the Union's Independent Leadership and Outstanding, Persistent Work.

How Much Are These Achievements Worth to You?

1. The establishment in 1920 of a \$1,500 minimum salary—brought about by the Union at a time when other organizations expressed themselves as being satisfied with \$1,200.
2. The defeat of the Downing bills of 1923 which would have turned over teachers' salary legislation to the tender mercies of the Board of Estimate.
3. The repeal of the Lusk school laws (1923) which restricted the civil liberty of teachers.
4. The killing of the proposal to exact "voluntary" playground service of elementary school teachers (1925).
5. The defeat of the Farrell-Mandelbaum bill (1926) which would have given power to the Board of Education to dismiss without trial any teacher adjudged by the Board of Superintendents to be mentally incompetent.
6. The discipline of the Medical Board (1928) with consequent improvements in facilities and in courtesy of staff.

How Much Has it Been Worth to You?

- 7 To have the Union stop the extension of military training in the high schools?
8. To belong to an organization whose officers do not seek and do not expect personal favors, and who are therefore independent and courageous in their relations with the school authorities?
9. To be associated with over three million organized workers in the American Federation of Labor who stand for union ideals?
10. To join in a nation-wide social movement for the welfare of all children and for the professional rights of all teachers?

CAN YOU AFFORD NOT TO BELONG?

SAN FRANCISCO, LOCAL 61

The membership campaign of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, Local 61, under the leadership of M. J. Jacobs, is meeting with gratifying results. The local membership has more than doubled and the campaign is being extended out into the state.

On February 10, a meeting of the Federation to which all teachers were invited, was held at the High School of Commerce for consideration of the Citizens Salary Committee Report.

The speakers were: James W. Mullen, Chairman of the Citizens' Salary Committee; Hon. Daniel C. Murphy, Member Board of Education; John A. O'Connell, Secretary San Francisco Labor Council; Dr. Joseph M. Gwinn, Superintendent of Schools; His Honor, Mayor James Rolph, Jr.

PORTLAND LOCAL 111

In accord with the movement of the A. F. of L. to double membership within the year, the Portland Teachers' Union, No. 111, welcomed at the January meeting six new members. There will be others—so faith prompts us to believe. Unquestionably, there are many among the teachers of Portland who have visioned in the schools of the future the Union's ideals. To such we are expecting to introduce our organization.

It is the wish of the chairman of the membership committee that prospective members be invited in small groups of five or six to an apartment "at home" with the avowed purpose of discussing very informally the principles and policies of the union. In our one such meeting, our guests were frankly questioning and willing, too, to admit previously formed aversions. The result of the gathering was a happy feeling of congeniality and two new members.

At the last meeting of the local, it was announced that plans are being made for the introduction of study halls in two high schools of the city, with a certainty that some teachers are to be deprived of their one free period for the purpose of supervision. Gratifying as is the advent of study halls, the invasion of the time of the teacher, already overcrowded, seems nothing short of demoralizing. A committee was named to discover methods of study supervision

in other cities which have proved advantageous to both school and teacher.

Pleasant recognition came to the Union in the form of a compliment paid one of our representatives to the Central Labor Council, Miss Vaughn McCormick, who, over an opponent supported by rather influential adherents, was elected reader of the Council.

LUCY BELLE TENNANT,
Chairman, Publicity Committee.

BROOKWOOD, LOCAL 189

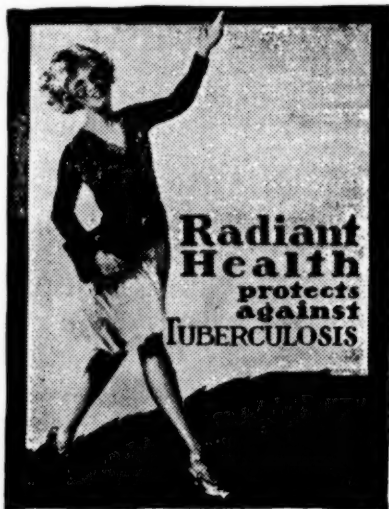
Brookwood, Local 189, has made plans to participate in the American Federation of Teachers' organization campaign. The members, by unanimous vote, assessed themselves for a period of two years for the organizing fund.

Six new members, all engaged in Labor College work, have been added to the union.

John C. Kennedy, formerly of the University of Chicago and Seattle, has been added to the Brookwood faculty.

Plans have been made for an educational conference.

The officers for the year are Josephine Colby, president, Mark Starr, secretary, and K. H. Polak, treasurer.



MANUMIT, LOCAL 191

Nellie M. Seeds, director of Manumit School, has been speaking to interested groups as far west as Chicago. She has addressed clubs, forums, university and normal college

groups, central labor unions and other labor groups on "Creative Education and its relation to the Trade Union Movement," "Learning through Doing" and other progressive education topics, illustrating her subjects with the work at Manumit. Dr. Seeds has been enthusiastically received wherever she has spoken. Teachers have been especially interested in the proposed teachers' training school at Manumit this coming summer. Those interested are invited to write to Dr. Seeds, Manumit School, Pawling, Dutchess Co., New York.

CHICAGO ELEMENTARY, LOCAL 199

On Friday, January 31st, Local 199 met in the evening at the City Club. The President, Miss Clohesy, gave a clear and concise explanation of the several factors that enter into the complicated financial crisis in Chicago. Mr. James Meade, President of Local No. 2, urged that all the Teacher Unions present a united front in all their stands on educational matters. Mrs. Schacht, President of Local No. 3, then explained to the Elementary teachers how they could carry the doctrine of the Union Teacher to the new appointees as they appeared in their respective schools. Mrs. Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, urged the teachers to mobilize their intelligences to the end that a real leader from the Union teachers might develop from the crisis.

Rev. J. W. R. Maguire, C. S. V., President of St. Viator College was then introduced as the speaker of the evening. His topic was, "The Teacher as the Guardian of the Future." Father McGuire pointed out that the teacher is more deserving of respect and admiration than is the greatest artist. While the artist employs lifeless materials in his creations, the teacher works with the human mind, soul, and will.

One of the most striking statements Father McGuire made was, "I have been saying for a number of years that, other things being equal, given two teachers of equal ability, talent, industry, and character, the Union teacher is the better teacher. The Union teacher has a sense of class—of social—consciousness and he is willing to make sacrifices for the general

advancement as well as for himself. The non-union teacher stands alone."

After picturing vividly some of the battles Union Labor has had to wage, Father McGuire in conclusion, impressed upon the teachers the necessity of instructing children in a love of real liberty—liberty such as that with which the founders of our country were imbued. He stated that the future of our country would be secure if only teachers who were themselves convinced of the principles of Liberty, Truth, Beauty, and Justice, would instill those same principles into the hearts of the children whom they taught.

One of the most delightful evenings in recent weeks in Chicago was spent by the combined executives boards of the four locals in entertaining Miss Nellie Seeds, Director of Manumit School. Dinner was served at the Piccadilly Restaurant. After it Miss Seeds gave a glowing description of how things are done at Manumit. It made those of us who teach enormous classes here in Chicago envy her teachers when Miss Seeds disclosed the fact that for her fifty-one students she had seventeen teachers. What a joy it must be to teach in that school. One can really teach. And the students show that they can do things. Miss Seeds passed 'round samples of the decorative and creative work done by the children and they were greatly admired.

Of course, it is an inspiration to have such a director as Miss Seeds. Were more principals the inspired leaders that Miss Seeds is, there would have to be better work done, even under the terrific pressure of huge classes and endless clerical minutiae. But, it is comforting to know that somewhere in this vast educational world there are souls courageous enough to have the vision and live up to it.

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., LOCAL 205

The Grand Forks Teachers Federation sent out in January to all the teachers in the Grand Forks school, a circular letter of information under the Captions, 1. Why the American Federation of Teachers, 2. The Local Fed-

eration, 3. What has Local 205 done, 4. Objectives and Objections.

Under the accomplishments the Federation lists:

First: It fostered and created the spirit of solidarity and loyalty to the group.

Second: It asked for, and received, a substantial salary increase.

Third: It had a leading part in defeating the Gunderson Bill, threatening a 25 per cent flat cut in all school levies. This meant, of course, that salaries would be cut 25 per cent.

(a) It collected, printed, and distributed data, and propaganda throughout the state opposing the bill.

(b) Its literature was used by the N. D. E. A. and other organizations in defeat of the bill.

(c) It was the only educational body ready with its data when the N. D. E. A. met in Grand Forks the year when the bill was up for a vote.

The Federation had its part—not a small one—in defeating the "ouster" petitions circulated against some of the oldest and best teachers in the city.

Last spring, Supt. Stebbins told the Federation numerous criticisms were reaching the Board upon the work being done in the schools. In a letter to the Board of Education, the Federation asked that these criticisms be made specific and definite. On the request of Mr. Stebbins, the local gathered and tabulated data showing the effective work that was being done in the High School. This data was presented to the Board, and the teachers received the reply that the Board did not have any criticisms.

A challenge has been issued to the Junior High School Faculty Club, non-affiliated, to produce speakers to argue the question, "Resolved that the American Federation of Teachers is an organization beneficial to the teaching body," in open debate at the general meeting on February 13.

Miss Florence Rood, A. F. of T. past-president, has been invited to come to Grand Forks and address the teachers.

VIONA C. HANSEN,
Recording Secy.

PROGRESSIVES ARE READING LABOR'S NEWS

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The American Federation of Teachers desires to co-operate with all civic organizations for improved civic life.

Groups of seven or more public school teachers are invited to affiliate with this National Organization of Classroom Teachers, for mutual assistance, improved professional standards and the democratization of the schools.

Our Slogan Is:

Democracy in Education: Education for Democracy

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